

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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World Conference Discusses Textiles

**International Labor Organization
Convenes Employers, Workers,
and Governments**

WINANT NAMED CHAIRMAN

**Conference Will Work Toward Agree-
ment on 40-Hour Week Conven-
tion for World Industry**

An important international conference opened in Washington the first week of April. About 200 delegates and advisers, representing workers, employers, and governments of 23 countries came together to discuss the problems of the textile industry, an industry which employs a million and a quarter workers of the United States and 14,000,000 throughout the world. This conference is called the Tripartite Technical Textile Conference—the term “tripartite” being derived from the fact that representatives of the three interested groups, employers, laborers, and governments, are included. The object of the meeting is to consider measures which might be adopted in the different countries to assist a great industry which, in practically every country, is experiencing difficulties.

A World-Wide Industry

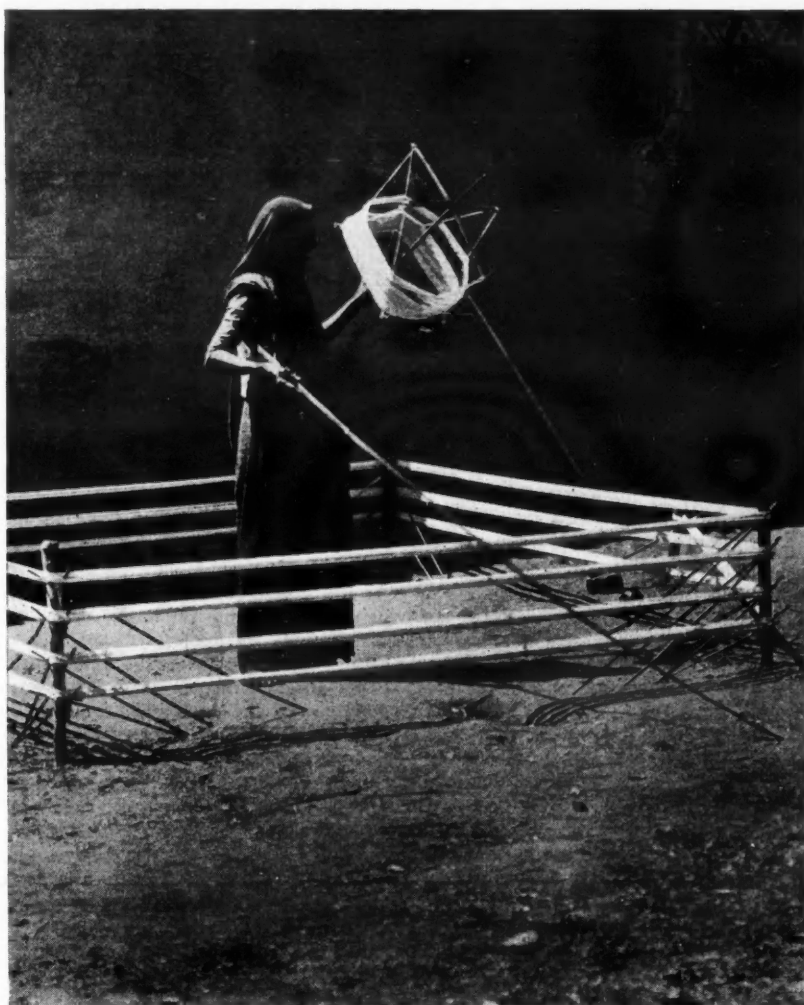
The textile industry is, in reality, not one industry but many. Included in it is the spinning and weaving of cotton, the manufacturing of silk and rayon goods, woolens and worsteds, the dyeing and finishing of all sorts of cloth goods. The companies which are engaged in the cloth-making operations are having trouble everywhere, chiefly because they are producing more than the people of the various countries can buy. This means that the companies are obliged to cut their prices in order to sell their goods. If they cut their prices, their profits dwindle and they are not able to pay living wages to their employees. In cases where the employees demand and secure high wages, the companies find themselves in almost impossible trouble, for competitors in other regions who are not obliged to pay the high wages can sell their goods at lower prices and take the business away from the mills which maintain higher wage standards.

Problems of that kind are difficult enough when they are found in some one country, but they become especially trying in an industry like that of cloth making which is distributed widely over the world; for the mills in each country are affected by conditions and prices which prevail in many other lands.

We can see how truly international this industry is when we understand that the raw materials for textile manufacture come from regions widely separated over the globe. Cotton is produced in the United States, India, China, Russia, and Egypt; wool comes from Australia, the United States, Argentina, and the Union of South Africa; raw silk comes from Japan; flax from Russia; and jute from India.

Textile manufacture itself is carried on in almost every nation, but the great centers are in western Europe, especially in Great Britain and France; in the United States and in the Far East, particularly Japan and India. The purchasers of cloth are found in every nation, too. Each nation which manufactures cloth can see to it that a large part of the goods consumed by its

(Concluded on page 8)



PRIMITIVE WARPING IN INDIA

© Ewing Galloway

Lazy Days

These early days of spring are days of beauty. The cherry blossoms, the forsythia, the dogwood, the redbud, the tulips add dashes of color to the soft shades of green which Nature spreads everywhere before us. But the spring days are less stimulating than they are beautiful. This is the time when we let down a bit. We are approaching the season when “spring fever” becomes epidemic. We miss the bracing tonic supplied by the winter days. We relax in the warm and perfume-laden air and tend to forget the duties to which we have been so attentive.

Spring fever is not a new ailment. It was felt long ago in the times of our grandfathers. The spring lassitude was looked upon then as a physical malady, and drastic measures were taken to cope with it. Everyone was supposed to take medicine in the spring, for the blood had to be purified. And the taking of medicine in those days was no light matter, for the physicians and the pharmacists had not invented pleasing or inoffensive pellets. As spring came on, everyone had to take large doses of rhubarb and molasses and sulphur to clear up the blood and give tone to the body. We know now that spring fever is a product of social as well as physical conditions. The indisposition to work in the spring comes partly from the fact that there is so much else that one would rather do. The outdoors is calling. The baseball season is coming on, and all sorts of games beckon to us, to the young and the old. It may be marbles for the little tots, and golf or motoring for the graybeards, but the bright, warm outdoors calls to all.

These days of letting down, however, may have their uses, especially for those who are possessed of physical energy and power of will. If one is looking for a chance to spring into leadership, here may be his opportunity. He has not, perhaps, during the winter months, been able to widen the gap between himself and his more or less mediocre associates. When he has gone forward, they may have tagged unpleasantly at his heels. But now it is not so easy to work. Especially in the school there is a tendency to slip. Those who follow the line of least resistance will lie down on the job. Most people will let up perceptibly this month. Most students in the classes will fall down a little. The one who is morally and physically able to go on when the going is hard will stick closely to his tasks during these weeks. He will insist upon a high grade of achievement. He will prove that he can overcome obstacles, and the obstacles will prove to be stepping-stones toward a position of distinction.

New Constitution for India Is Inaugurated

**Partial Self-Government Granted
But India Congress Party
Is Not Satisfied**

MANY SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES

**Congress Party Refuses to Cooperate
in Six Provinces Where It Secured
Control in Recent Elections**

One of the most important large-scale political experiments of recent times began in India on April 1. On that day, part of the new constitution which the British have prepared for their huge Asiatic colony came into effect. The British spent more than 10 years working out this new plan for the government of India. They hope that it will satisfy, at least for the present, the growing demand among the people of India for control of their own affairs. It gives the people much more direct voice in the government under which they live than they ever have had before in their long history. But it does not give full self-government. On that ground, a large and influential group among the people of India is refusing to help make the new system work. The introduction of this new constitution therefore raises two vital questions: (1) Is even this much of democracy workable under present conditions in India? (2) Even if it is, can the British persuade enough of the people of India to cooperate with them to make the new governmental machinery function?

To be able to follow intelligently the development of this important political experiment, one needs to know something of India today. It is impossible, however, to discuss all the conditions in the country. We shall take up, therefore, only the more important points which have a direct bearing on the outcome of this new political venture.

A distinguished writer has remarked that “the first thing to learn about India is that there is no India.” This paradoxical statement means simply that there are so many religious, racial, caste, language, economic, political, and other divisions in India that it is quite incorrect to think of the people as a unit, or to speak of “Indians” as we speak of “Germans” or “Frenchmen” or even “Spaniards.”

Geographical and Racial Divisions

Even geographically, there are three quite different Indias. These are: (1) The huge triangle in the south, called the Deccan and containing about a fourth of the population. Most of this part is cut up by jagged hills, and the climate is dry. About a fourth of the people live here—and here is where the great famines occur. (2) The broad, fertile, semitropical belt of the Ganges and Indus River valleys, just north of the Deccan. Fully half, perhaps more, of the people live in these valleys, making this one of the most thickly settled areas in the world. Here, as in the Deccan, most of the people get their living directly or indirectly from the soil. In spite of the soil's fertility, starvation always is near for a great many because the region is so crowded. (3) The mountainous northern regions, where the people live mainly by raising sheep, goats, and cattle instead of by tilling the soil. These mountain folk are famous fighters. They despise the others as weaklings, while the people of the Ganges and Indus valleys fear and hate the moun-

tainers because they have suffered so much from their raids.

Racially as well as geographically, India is divided into three main parts, with each part subdivided into many sections. Like so many of the other divisions in India, these racial differences are the result of successive conquests by alien invaders. The three main groups are: (1) The Dravidians, who are descendants of the Malay tribes that came into India between 7,000 and 5,000 years ago. These form well over half the people of India today. But they are the poorer, more oppressed part of the population. (2) The Aryans, originally Caucasians, whose ancestors came down from the northwest between 4,000 and 3,000 years ago and conquered and enslaved the Dravidians. They introduced the caste system. Hinduism, the religion of the great majority, also was their creation. Though the people of Aryan stock are distinctly in the minority today, they are the most influential element in India. (3) A miscellaneous lot of Turks, Mongols, and others, descendants of tribes that began fighting their way down from Central Asia about 1,000 years ago. These people conquered the Indus valley, and got a strong foothold around the mouth of the Ganges. Most of the turbulent mountain folk of whom we have spoken belong to this racial group. In the long centuries, there has been much dividing and subdividing of these three main racial elements, with the result that India today sometimes is said to contain as many as 45 different races and tribes—and there are over 200 quite distinct languages or dialects. The three fundamental divisions remain fairly distinct, however.

Religious Disagreements

The serious religious quarrels in India, of which we hear from time to time, had their origins in the invasion of the third main racial group. The Aryans and Dravidians are Hindus. Most of the new invaders were Moslems (Mohammedans). This religious difference increased the hatred on both sides, which had its roots in the racial differences and the wars of conquest. From the beginning, the Hindus and Moslems have fought; even today, they frequently become involved in violent and bloody quarrels.

This religious-racial antagonism between the Hindus and Moslems creates one of the most serious political difficulties. There are about 220,000,000 Hindus and 70,000,000 Moslems. The Moslems dislike the idea of majority rule for the whole country, because they fear the Hindus would use their numerical superiority to oppress them. Because of this same fear, most of the Moslems would like to have the British keep a hand in Indian affairs. But the Moslems favor majority rule where they are in a majority—as in the northwestern provinces. The Hindus here, however, are afraid of what would happen if the Moslems get what they want.

The more enlightened leaders on both sides have been trying to wipe out this mutual antagonism and fear. They have made some progress. But the British insist that if they withdrew now, the ancient hatreds would break out in violent fighting between the Hindus and Moslems. In any case, the mutual distrust is so great that political cooperation will be very difficult.

The Caste System

The caste system creates another serious problem. This involves only the Hindus, since there are no castes among the Moslems. The system, with its sharp separation of the members of one caste from another, originated with the Aryan conquest. It has developed until today there

are roughly 2,000 different castes. If anyone tries to break over the rigid boundaries of the caste into which he is born, he is in danger of becoming an "outcaste." At the top of the system is the small but extremely influential caste of Brahmins or priests of Hinduism. At the bottom, despised and spurned by all the rest, are the "outcastes" or "untouchables." These are compelled to make what living they can by doing the most disagreeable and degrading work. There are something like 60,000,000 of these "untouchables" who, because of their extreme poverty, their complete lack of education or opportunity of any sort, and the contempt in which they are held, create a grave economic, social, and political problem.

The age-old caste system is breaking down, thanks to the strenuous efforts of Hindu leaders as well as of the British. But enough of it is left to interfere seriously with the establishment of anything like democratic government. There is real fear, too, that majority rule would mean trouble between the castes—with all the castes combining against the "untouchables," and the lower castes, whose members make up the large majority, combining against the higher castes.

This by no means covers all the difficulties in the way of establishing a unified, democratic, smooth-working system of constitutional self-government in India. Nor has anything been said about the grave economic problems of the country. But this is enough to show why the British feel that it is not safe, for the Indian people themselves as well as for British interests, to permit full self-government yet. A fairly large number of Indian leaders on the whole agree with the British—especially the leaders of the minority groups. The extreme nationalists, led by the powerful All-India Congress party, on the other hand, insist that India belongs to its own people, and that these people should be allowed to govern it in their own way, whatever mistakes they may make.

For this reason, the Congress party has set out deliberately to do all it can to wreck the new system. To understand the exact situation, it will be well to see what the old system was, and what changes are proposed.

The Present Government

India is divided between provinces which the British rule directly and the so-called Indian states. Most of the provinces are as large as a good-sized country in Europe. Together, they contain more than three-quarters of India's 350,000,000 people. The 600-odd Indian states run all the way from a few villages to territories nearly as large as Great Britain itself, with tens of millions of people. These states have their own hereditary rulers, who are theoretically independent of British authority in the government of their own territory and subjects. If conditions in any

state get too bad, however, the British step in to clear things up, and none of the rulers are allowed to keep an army large enough to be a real threat to British authority in India.

At the head of all the British government in India is the viceroy, who is appointed from London. Subject only to orders from the British government, he has practically absolute power in Indian affairs. Under him are the British governors of the British provinces, who have virtually autocratic power in provincial matters. Both the viceroy and the governors have what amount to advisory councils. For several years, a few of the people have had votes in electing some of these council members, and in certain other matters. But the British have kept complete control.

The new constitution calls for legislatures in the British provinces, whose members are elected by about 35,000,000 voters, including 6,000,000 women. Each province is to have a cabinet which, like the cabinet in the British government, is to depend on the support of a majority in the legislature. The cabinets and legislatures are to have general charge of provincial affairs. Britishers, appointed from London, continue as governors of the provinces, however, and these governors have the right to overrule the legislatures and cabinets in important matters when they think this is necessary. This is the part of the new constitution which officially went into effect on April 1.

Federal Legislature

For India as a whole, the new plan calls for a federal government to include the British provinces and the Indian states. The federal legislature is to be made up of elected representatives from the provinces and members appointed by the rulers of the Indian states. There is to be a federal cabinet which, with the legislature, will



NATIONALIST LEADER
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who, as leader of the All-India Congress party, is one of the outstanding opponents of the new constitution.

run the government—so long as things go well. The viceroy, who now will be called the governor general, remains with authority to overrule the federal cabinet and legislature when he thinks this is required, and with control of the British fighting forces in India. This part is planned to come into effect later, when the new provincial system begins to work smoothly.

Under the new system, Burma is separated from India and will have a government of its own. This, however, does not concern us here.

The new plan for India thus takes a long step toward Indian self-government. But it definitely does not go all the way. From

the time it was first formally adopted by the British government, in August 1935, therefore, the strongly nationalistic All-India Congress party, of which Gandhi was the leader for so long and which is now led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has refused to accept it. This party demands full independence for India. It took part in the elections of members of the provincial legislatures which were held in January and February of this year, and secured a majority in six of the 11 British provinces: Bihar, Bombay, the Central Provinces, Madras, Orissa, the United Provinces. These include nearly two-thirds of the people in the provinces, and in all these provinces the Hindus are in a substantial majority. Since the elections, however, the party has declared that none of its members is to accept a post in the provincial cabinets. Six months is allowed to get the provincial cabinets organized and working. If within that time the Congress party does not change its mind, the new system cannot function in these six provinces—and the British governors will go on ruling.

In the other five provinces, the Congress party did not secure a majority. Here, cabinets are being formed resting on coalitions of several groups in each of the legislatures. These five are the provinces where the Moslems are in a majority, or strong (Assam, Bengal, Punjab, Sind, the Northwestern Provinces). The new plan probably will get a start in these provinces. But if the Congress party refuses to cooperate in the other six, it will be impossible to put the whole scheme into effect.

Different Viewpoints

The British reserved the final control to themselves under the new constitution because, they have said, the Indian people have had no experience with democratic institutions and because these people are too seriously divided racially, religiously, economically, and in other ways for effective political cooperation among them to be possible now. Eventually, the British have declared, they want India to develop politically into a fully self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, like Canada or Australia. But for the present, they believe, a period of training is necessary—and this constitution is planned to provide the first step in that training.

Opposing the British, the Congress party leaders, and others who are against British control of India, claim that the British authorities are not sincere in this talk about preparing for full future self-government. They say that the British, influenced in part by the big financial interests with heavy investments in India, have no intention of ever giving up control. They call this new constitution simply an attempt by the British to hoodwink the people of India into believing they are getting a share in the government, whereas, in fact, British authority is just as great as ever.

The argument rages back and forth, with honest men and others on both sides. Whatever the motives, however, an exceedingly significant political experiment is being undertaken in India.

* * *

The French Popular Front government has taken steps to suppress the fascist movement, which has recently given rise to disturbances in France. It has indicted Colonel Francois de la Rocque and three of his lieutenants for reorganizing the outlawed Croix de Feu.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Spain: The civil war in Spain is proceeding along three main fronts, at two of which the advantages are heavily in favor of the government forces. Only in the Basque region, along the Bay of Biscay, have the rebels displayed superior strategy. Elsewhere, on the roads to Cordoba and to Burgos, the rebel capital, the loyalists have pushed forward with marked success.

It now appears that the recent persistent victories of the Madrid forces were in large part due to their air force which has been equipped with bombers of a Russian make. The government has been further encouraged by growing disaffection in the ranks of General Franco. During the last two weeks there have been sporadic revolts against Franco in Spanish Morocco, where the civil war broke out last July.

Meanwhile, the danger of a European war growing out of the Spanish conflict seems once again to have lessened. That, at least, is the opinion of the New York Times correspondent stationed in London. He writes:

Most of Europe feels a thrill of new confidence in these early spring days that it will be able to avert another war. It is as though a nightmare of fear were ending and sanity were returning to international life. The war in Spain may drag on amid blood and suffering, but in the rest of the continent there is an appearance, at least, of a turn toward more settled conditions.

Not only in Britain, but in widely separated parts of Europe, common sense is coming back. Constructive diplomacy is having its first chance since the false dawn of peace and confidence which followed the Locarno settlement in 1925. Patient statesmanship is at work in a dozen or more countries, repairing broken friendships and rebuilding the structure of European goodwill.

Other observers tend, however, to be cautious of such optimism. They point out that constructive diplomacy has had several chances in recent years and has failed. League intervention in Japanese occupation of Manchuria failed. It failed also in Ethiopia. Attempts to limit armaments have been abandoned. The statesmanship that is at work in "a dozen or more countries" is actually directed toward making virtual alliances in the event of a coming struggle.

Yugoslavia: A recent series of diplomatic moves by Yugoslavia foreshadows a changed political setup in southeastern Europe. Earlier this year, the Belgrade government signed a treaty of friendship with Bulgaria; a fortnight ago it made a similar treaty with Italy. Since in each instance the accord was with a power which Yugoslavia had long regarded with suspicion, it was fairly clear that Yugoslavia was relaxing her long-standing policy of close affiliation with France, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. In the event of war, Yugoslavia can no longer be counted upon as a certain French ally.

If any doubt of this definite change of policy still remained, it was dispelled last week when the Little Entente, comprising Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, met at Belgrade. At this gathering, France sought to propose a more definite military alliance in the form of a mutual assistance pact between herself and the Entente powers. Yugoslavia vetoed the proposal. She also refused to enter a mutual assistance pact with Rumania and Czechoslovakia which would have united them against any aggressor.



—Courtesy Review of Reviews
THE NATIONS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE



—Courtesy U. S. S. R. in Construction

THE PACE SLACKENS

It is reported that Soviet production, which in recent years has made spectacular advances, is falling below established quotas. Soviet authorities blame the deficiencies on enemies from within.

Germany: The enmity between Germany and Russia has its amusing as well as its grim side. Germans listening to their radios in the evening have recently been bombarded with a festival of oratory and news comments. It appears that Moscow in one of its crusading moods has been broadcasting news, purporting to come from various European capitals, in which the Nazi regime was represented in a rather ridiculous light. At the same time, individual Russians would appear on a program and describe the happiness that is theirs under the Communist regime.

This was enough to stir Propaganda Minister Goebbels to a fine frenzy and he started a campaign urging Germans to buy radios limited in range of reception so that Moscow would be forever wiped off the dial. And members of the Nazi party went from house to house to report to the authorities the type of radio owned by each family. These measures would undoubtedly have proved effective were it not that some communists had succeeded in outwitting the Nazi officials. A powerful secret broadcasting station was set up and each evening could be heard: "Here speaks an illegal broadcasting station in Germany of the German Communist party." Then would follow a rendition of the "Internationale," communist patriotic song and unrestrained attacks upon German officialdom. For several weeks, Goebbels found it impossible to locate the wave length on which this secret station broadcast. He finally succeeded, however, and Germans are now being treated with what must be a diverting exchange of courtesies.

Japan: The Japanese people are in for some more political excitement. It has been announced that new elections will be held on April 30. All the members of the lower house of parliament (Diet) must

go before the voters for reelection. The announcement of the election came as a great surprise to the country. The reason for the decision, according to Premier Hayashi, who was chosen head of the cabinet in January, is that the political parties have not adopted a sufficiently serious attitude toward the problems before the country. Impartial observers, however, believe that the cabinet which is dominated by militarists, is trying to punish those members of parliament who have criticized the army's activities in Manchoukuo and northern China. The cabinet is running somewhat of a risk, for many believe that the newly elected parliament may be even more opposed than was the old one to the huge military expenditures.

England: Although it has engaged in housing projects and relief for the unemployed and is now embarking upon a vast arms program, the British government has succeeded in balancing its budget for the current fiscal year. In contrast, our federal government will arrive at the close of its fiscal year with a probable deficit of \$4,000,000,000. How do the British manage to do it?

For one thing, taxes, particularly those on income, are higher than in the United States, with the result that the revenue from income taxes exceeds our own, although our population is thrice the size of Britain's. Then, there is the different way in which each country is meeting the relief problem. The idle in America are given jobs on public works projects, where they receive almost as much as those in the employ of private industry. This requires a tremendous outlay of money. The unemployed in Britain, on the other hand, get a dole. It may be woefully inadequate as more than one Englishman has confessed, but it costs the government much less money. It is equally important to note that the new arms program has really only just begun, and that in the coming years the British treasury will, in all likelihood, be forced to borrow funds to pay for it.

Russia: As Soviet Russia enters the last nine months of her second Five-Year Plan, the government has called upon the nation's workers to step up their speed in producing goods. The output of oil, coal, timber, and certain other products is far behind what had been planned for the last few months. Soviet officials claim that enemies of the government, in important positions, have been largely re-

sponsible for the slowing down of the program. It is pointed out, however, that this charge is always made when things are not going well in that country.

During 1936 the total production of food and goods in Russia was considerably greater than the Five-Year Plan had called for, but there were shortages in sugar, fruit, vegetables, and butter. A large proportion of the nation's producing capacity, as in most other nations, is being used to turn out military equipment.

The Union of South Africa has passed a law prohibiting all but British citizens from engaging in political activity in the former German colony of southwest Africa. The decree is aimed at Nazi agents who have recently been active in anti-British propaganda in this state.

With the renewal of Arab disturbances in Palestine, a proposal has been made that the country be divided into two autonomous regions, on the model of Switzerland, one to remain in the hands of the Arabs, the other in the hands of the Jews.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. What principal difficulties lie in the path of Indian unity?
2. Do you think the British could have been more liberal in the terms of the new constitution granted to India?
3. Why has there been a shifting of the textile industry from New England to the South in the United States?
4. Why is it said that the problems of the



© Wide World
SPAIN'S MAN OF THE HOUR
General Jose Miaja who, as leader of the loyalist forces, has been dealing decisive defeat to the rebels recently.

textile industry cannot be handled satisfactorily except by international action?

5. What may be accomplished by the Washington conference?
6. Which of the following causes do you think was most influential in deciding the United States to enter the World War: 1. Trade and loans. 2. Violation of neutral right. 3. Decline of mental neutrality. 4. Propaganda.
7. What new direction is to be given to the federal government's spending policy? What are likely to be the social effects of this policy?
8. In your opinion, did the United States make a mistake by entering the World War?
9. What factor has contributed to the recent spectacular success of the Spanish loyalists in the air?

PRONUNCIATIONS: Burgos (boor'gos o as in go), Cordoba (kor-doe'vah), Nehru (nay-roo'), Bijar (bee-jahr'), Madras (mah-dras'), Orissa (o-ris'sah), Assam (as-sam' a as in after), Punjab (pun-jab' u as in up, a as in arm), Burma (bir'ma, a as in sofa), Deccan (dek'an), Jose Miaja (ho-say' me-ah'hah.)



FINISHED AND READY TO GO

—Courtesy R. G. LeTourneau, Inc.

Sturdy, factory-built all-steel house, its five rooms complete to the last detail, is placed on a truck for delivery to its permanent location. These houses are not yet made on a large scale for the commercial market, but they point to an important trend in the future.

Labor Debate in Congress

The subject of most absorbing interest in the congressional debates recently has been the sit-down strikes. They have been attacked as violent and revolutionary, and defended as a logical result of the lawlessness of employers, particularly the refusal of certain employers to obey the Wagner Labor Act, which provides a means of peaceably settling certain kinds of labor disputes.

The general sentiment in Congress seems hostile to the sit-down as a method of labor warfare. But what is the government to do about it? Many believe that Congress should at least express itself officially. Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, hailing from a state which is full of textile mills and which may therefore become the scene of labor troubles, introduced an amendment to the Guffey-Vinson Coal Bill declaring it against "the public policy of the United States" for any miner to remain upon the property of a mine owner after his employment has terminated. Thus he attempted to place Congress on record against sit-down strikes. But the amendment was defeated when the bill was passed.

President Roosevelt is also involved in the labor debate. Should he take action? If so, what action? He is bitterly attacked for his so-called do-nothing policy. He is said to be encouraging labor violence by refusing to take a stand against sit-down strikes. But what, say his supporters, can he do? Even Senator Borah, Republican, and a critic of many administration policies, says that the settlement of labor troubles is a duty of the states and not the national government. Unless state authorities appeal for federal troops, says the Idaho senator, the President and Congress have no right to interfere. Some administration supporters inject the constitutional issue into the debate by declaring that the Supreme Court holds the regulation of labor and industry to be a state function, and that the President has no power to act. Administration opponents say that the President does not hesitate to use his influence to affect prices and other industrial conditions, so why should he shy away from the labor controversy? Why does he not at least make a statement indicating his opposition to lawless action by organized workers? And while the controversy in the halls of Congress rages, the President holds his tongue.

The President Warns

President Roosevelt, at a recent press conference, said that the production of steel, copper, and building materials, the so-called "durable goods," is increasing very rapidly, but that the production of goods like food and clothing, which people use for immediate consumption, "consumer goods," is not increasing so decidedly. This, he said, is a bad sign. It indicates that industries are using a large share of their profits to enlarge their plants and to buy machinery so they can turn out increasing quantities of goods. They are spending too much in this way, he believes, and not enough to increase the purchasing power of the people. If this tendency continues, the time will come when the people

cannot buy as much as is being produced, then there will come another business recession.

So much steel, copper, cement, and so on is being purchased now, that prices are going up very rapidly. Prices of any product are likely to shoot upward when there is a heavy demand for it. Makers of such a product, realizing the demand for it, boost the price. This adds to their profits but forces people to pay more for what they buy, thereby reducing their purchasing power. Owners of industry, the President believes, should distribute more of their profits in the form of higher wages or lower prices. This would



—Carmack in Christian Science Monitor
AN ANSWER, PLEASE, MR. PRESIDENT

increase the nation's buying power and, as has been shown in the automobile industry, would give reasonable profits to the owners. Of course a certain amount of plant expansion is needed, the President admits, but it must not get too far ahead of purchasing power, or there will not be enough customers for the expanded industries.

The President feels that the government can help to check prices by cutting its purchases of goods like steel and building materials. That will decrease the demand for these goods and tend to hold the prices down. If the government adopts such a policy it will mean a curtailing of public building. The President's idea is that public works, including housing, should be pushed during times of depression when the big industries, like steel and construction industries, need to be encouraged, and that government building should slow down during "boom" times when prices are mounting and overexpansion is threatened. He thinks that from now on work relief should be carried on in projects which use a great deal of labor but not so much material. By doing work of that kind, the government will be putting out a great deal of money to the needy people, thus enabling them to buy goods for immediate use, and it will be using less money to buy steel and copper and building materials.

Many people, while agreeing with this idea as a means of keeping business operating steadily, are worried about the social effects.

The Week in the

What the American People

How long must the third of the population which is miserably housed wait, they say, for relief? Are they to go on living in slums until another depression comes along? These questions indicate how complex our national economic and social problems are and how difficult they are of solution.

New Strikes

Six General Motors plants were closed by sit-down strikers for one day as the result of a dispute as to whether or not the company was living up to its part of the agreement which was signed on March 12. Union leaders quickly arranged for the strikers to go back to work and asked them to abide by the provisions of the agreement. This calls on them to use all possible means of settling their grievances through negotiation before stopping work. At the same time Homer Martin, president of the automobile workers' organization, said that General Motors should make greater efforts to have their foremen understand the agreement and treat their men according to its provisions.

Another interesting strike development of the week was a brief sit-down in the Kansas City plant of the Ford Motor Company, which has always been very strongly opposed to labor unions. It resulted from the laying off of 300 men, most of whom are union members. The company and the union officials quickly came to an agreement, however, and the workers were reemployed. In the future the company promises to lay off men, when the occasion arises, on the basis of seniority and without discrimination against union members. Union leaders claimed that this was the first successful strike ever called by Ford employees.

Coal Agreement

Wage increases totaling \$85,000,000 a year, a 25-cents-a-ton rise in the price of coal, and the promise of two years of peaceful industrial relations were the chief results of negotiations between the United Mine Workers union and the coal operators who have just signed a new working agreement.

The union had asked for a 30-hour work week, in place of the present 35-hour week, two weeks vacation with pay, and a minimum annual wage of \$1,200. It gave up these demands when the discussions showed that the owners could not at present afford to make such changes. The operators, on the other hand, had wanted to increase the number of hours of work per week without any increase in wages. They, too, gave in in the end. The final agreement provides for wage increases varying from 50 cents to \$1 a day, depending on the particular kind of work, and time-and-a-half pay for overtime.

Relief Funds

Relief for America's unemployed remains today one of our most serious national problems despite steadily increasing industrial activity and the oft-repeated warnings that a big business boom is almost upon us. From one side comes the demand that relief expenditures be reduced in order to balance the budget, while from another quarter come pleas that the federal government spend even larger sums of money during the coming year for relief than have been planned. The position of those who favor strict and immediate economizing has been expressed by Representative Robert L. Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which must raise the money for all appropriations. A growing number of senators and congressmen concur in this view.

"I favor retrenching and cutting down expenditures," Mr. Doughton said recently, "before new taxes are considered. The time has arrived for us to be more cautious and to get away from emergency expenditures in order to relieve the taxpayers of the nation."

The advocates of economy claim that further large government borrowing will encour-

age a dangerous inflationary boom, and that if new taxes are levied, business recovery will be checked. The only thing to do, they say, is to reduce expenses and balance the budget. Nevertheless, strong pressure is being placed on Congress and on the President to provide another large relief appropriation.



From a painting by Robert

Among the leaders on this side are governors and mayors. These officials know that if the federal government fails to provide enough funds to care for the jobless, state and local governments will have to do it. And, they insist, the federal government is in a much better position to raise the necessary money than they are.

In place of the \$1,500,000,000 relief fund, which it is understood the President will propose for the year ending June 30, 1938, the mayors are asking for \$2,200,000,000. In a statement, issued by Mayor La Guardia of New York, they have said: "The cities believe that existing circumstances require continuance of federal responsibility for the employable relief group; . . . approximately 2,800,000 cases will require WPA aid . . . next year. On the present average cost per month this requires an appropriation of \$2,200,000,000."

Steel Houses

A tractor crane recently picked up a five-room house by three rings in the roof and loaded it onto a trailer. The trailer was hauled down the road. The crane lifted the house off and set it down on a flat piece of



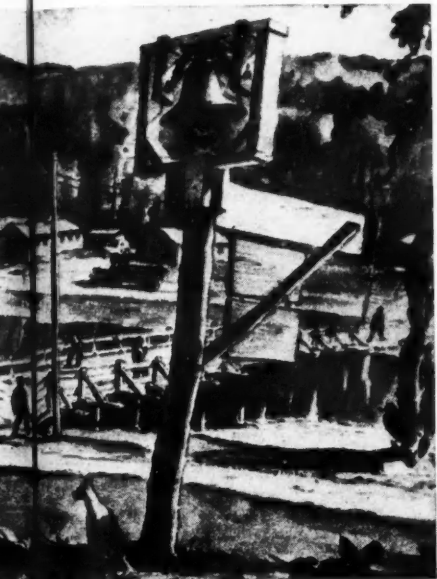
ANOTHER LADY ENVOY?

It is reported that Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, social leader, member of the Democratic National Committee for the District of Columbia, and ardent Roosevelt campaign supporter, is to be the new United States minister to Norway. She is photographed with British Ambassador Sir Ronald Lindsay. (See page 6.)

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

ground. Meanwhile, the coal furnace in the house had been going. Within a few hours, water, electricity, and sewer connections were made, carpets, drapes, and furniture were installed, and the house was ready for occupancy. Before long, this house, and five others like it, will be lifted down into the Illinois River



—Courtesy Emergency Conservation Work
by Reindanz, CCC recruit.

and floated to a new site—not on boats but on their own bottoms.

The house which had these experiences is one of the new all-steel homes being built by the Le Terneau company, makers of grading machinery in Peoria, Illinois. All the parts—floors, beams, walls, roof—are welded together. Fairly heavy material is used, to give solidity. Rock wool is packed under the roof and in the walls for heat and cold insulation. Any color scheme can be used in painting the steel, inside and out. And the houses built this way can be moved around on the highways from place to place as the owners desire.

Reports of these steel houses which have not yet been placed on the market, raise the question whether they do not offer the solution to the problem of getting durable, attractive, and easily movable dwellings.

CCC Anniversary

The fourth anniversary of the Civilian Conservation Corps has just been celebrated in some 2,000 camps in all parts of the country. The national director of the corps, Robert Fechner, says that 1,600,000 young men have participated in CCC work since

the service was organized. They have not only supported themselves, but have saved a total of \$360,000,000, which has been sent home for the support of families.

In New York state alone, there are 48 camps. Their activities illustrate the broad range of national interests which are covered by the CCC. Forest-fire prevention has included trail-building in inaccessible parts of the country, stringing telephone wires across the forests to create a new system of fire alarms, and, finally, actual fire-fighting. Reforestation in New York has involved extensive tree-planting, protection of young trees by fences, nursery work in collecting seeds and raising seedlings. Restocking streams with fish, canalization of streams to prevent floods, and flood-fighting have also occupied the time of CCC men. Such diverse activities as control of the gypsy moth and the building of tourist camp sites are among other constructive works of the CCC.

President Roosevelt has addressed a message to Congress suggesting that the CCC be placed on a permanent basis. It is believed that the necessary bill will be passed without substantial opposition.

Safety at Sea

In the fall of 1934 an American passenger ship, the *Morro Castle*, burned when a few miles off the New Jersey coast, with the loss of 124 lives. A few months later, near the same place, the *Mohawk* collided with another vessel and sank. Forty-five lives were lost. These two disasters quickly resulted in the appointment by Congress of a special group of investigators to draw up recommendations for improving safety at sea. After 18 months' study, their work has just been completed and a report submitted to Congress.

Every phase of ship construction and operation was studied and the recommendations cover all types of shipping from small coastal vessels to huge transatlantic liners. Experiments were conducted in order to discover the best methods for fireproofing a ship, and elaborate rules are suggested for detecting and extinguishing fires aboard ship.

To prevent ships from sinking when holes develop at or below the water line, it is proposed that all holds be divided into a number of watertight compartments. Thus a leak will flood only a relatively small section of the ship, not enough to cause her to sink or to tip over.

A long list of suggestions was submitted showing how lifesaving apparatus and methods should be improved. To make sure that the safety rules are practiced properly, it is also proposed that a bureau of marine inspection and navigation be set up under the Department of Commerce, with power to enforce all the regulations which might be adopted.

Weather Champions

Meteorologists at Harvard University and members of the government Weather Bureau are just completing an encyclopedia of climatic conditions in North America and have awarded "championship" titles to the sections of the country which have the most unusual weather.

St. Petersburg, Florida, is America's sunniest spot, with an average of fewer than five sunless days a year. The next sunniest place is the California-Arizona border with 300 clear days a year.

The cloudiest section is the state of Washington; the rainiest spot is the Olympic Mountains in northwest Washington with an annual rainfall of 200 inches.

The driest section is southeastern California, southwestern Arizona, and western Nevada with an average of only 8 inches of rain a year.

The snowiest section is the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountain ranges, where the snowfall averages 35 feet a winter.



LOOKING TOWARD THE CHILHOWEE MOUNTAINS IN THE GREAT SMOKIES
(From a photograph by Carlos C. Campbell, for "The Great Smoky Mountains.")

NEW BOOKS

The Court Issue

Those desiring a fairly comprehensive, yet concise, summary of the issues involved in the current controversy over the Supreme Court will find "The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution" (New York: Barnes and Noble. \$1) most helpful. Edited by William R. Barnes and A. W. Littlefield, this handbook does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it does



GABRIEL?
(From a cartoon by Elderman for The Washington Post, reproduced in "The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution.")

contain much material that was hitherto available only from scattered sources. Included is a brief account of the origin and development of the Constitution, biographies of the present justices, and numerous excerpts of opinions both for and against the President's plans. At the end of the volume are several interesting charts, a complete list of all laws invalidated by the Court since its establishment, and a bibliography of outstanding works on the Court and the Constitution.

Munitions Makers

The recent action of the French government in expropriating the Schneider-Creusot munitions factories, the legislation now being prepared in Canada to put a ban on war profits, and the strong sentiment for similar legislation in our own country all stem from the conviction that the manufacture of armaments is not an ordinary business enterprise. Unfortunately, as Philip Noel-Baker points out in "The Private Manufacture of Armaments" (New York: Oxford. \$3.75), munitions makers have not always been able to grasp the distinction. Interested in getting a return on their investment, they have engaged in practices which, though legal, are not morally defensible. They have had recourse to bribery and strong pressure. To get orders, they have sometimes stirred up war scares. In many instances they have succeeded in having the governments become

salesmen for their wares. American warships, too, have been placed at the disposal of arms firms, which thereby obtained large orders. Mr. Noel-Baker maintains that only if the manufacture of armaments is under the direct control of every government can these evils be eliminated. His argument is based upon a very thorough examination of the evidence.

Within six months a second volume by Mr. Noel-Baker is to be published. It will deal with the economic and technical problems involved in the private manufacture of armaments, and will seek to dispose of the argument that only private industry can adequately provide for national defense.

This survey will be of particular help to the many students who have written us from time to time for material on this subject. It contains a great deal of interesting and valuable discussion.

Arms and the Men

The younger generation, those who will have to bear the brunt of battle in a future war, can remember but dimly, if at all, the hysteria which gripped Americans during the World War: How an almost savage hatred toward those with whom they had lived sympathetically for years could be whipped up by propaganda and suspicion is told by Edward Harris Heth in "Told with a Drum" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$2).

In many cities can be found the type represented by Hans Telling, an American citizen of German origin. He is a respectable member of the community, kindly, affectionate; and his neighbors think so highly of him that year after year they elect him mayor. Then, as the war hysteria grows, he finds himself scorned. His grandchildren have to be withdrawn from school, to spare them the taunts of both pupils and teachers. The Germans in the town find themselves pathetic outcasts.

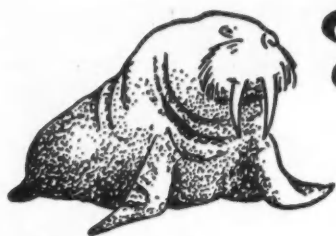
Great Smokies

The newest of America's national parks, officially opened but a year ago, embraces the Great Smoky Mountains lying on the border between North Carolina and Tennessee. To the stranger who wants to explore this natural playground, Miss Laura Thornborough offers a splendid guide in "The Great Smoky Mountains" (New York: Crowell. \$2). Hers is no dry-as-dust guidebook. Having lived for a decade in this region, she has ranged its trails, scaled its peaks, delighted in its profusion of beauty. She knows the mountain folk. She has an ear for their ballads (they are still singing one about the assassination of McKinley).

There is not a season, the author finds, when this park does not have a sight to offer the city-weary traveler. Let him be but slightly sensitive to the beauties of nature; he will find in early spring that the whole mountain is bursting with buds. Summer is a riot of color. In fall, the color becomes mellow, mature. In winter "you see a fairyland of decorated Christmas trees." Should you want more activity than that afforded by a festival of vision, you will find streams that abound in fish or fine blazed trails along which you can either hike or saddle.



FIERY FIORELLO
Fiorello H. LaGuardia, begins his battle for reelection as head of the nation's largest city. Elected on a Fusion ticket four years ago, LaGuardia has given the city a colorful and, his supporters insist, an efficient administration.



The Walrus

"The time has come, the walrus said, to talk of many things: of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

"WHEN will the cherry trees bloom?" That question is on the lips of residents of Washington and of prospective visitors to the national capital each year when the grass begins to grow and when the first shimmer of green returns to the trees. For Washington becomes a show place when, in the early spring, these Japanese cherry trees which line the banks of the Tidal Basin are in full bloom. Thousands of visitors from all parts of the nation come to the capital at the cherry blossom season. Sometimes the blossoms come at the last of March; sometimes just past the middle of April. This year the trees were scheduled to be in full bloom on Sunday, the eleventh. And on that day it was expected that 100,000 persons would enjoy the fairyland view of lacy whiteness reflected in the still waters of the Tidal Basin.

These trees were brought from Japan through the interest in them expressed by Mrs. William Howard Taft. At about the time that she became the first lady of the land, she conceived the idea of decorating the Basin with a fringe of Japanese cherry trees. A prominent Japanese visiting this country, Dr. Jokichi Takamine, made arrangements for the shipment of 3,000 trees to be planted in Potomac Park. This was in 1909. The first shipment of trees had to be destroyed because dangerous plant insects were found among them. They were later replaced by healthy specimens, and the trees which are today a source of pride to the nation were planted in 1911. They have now reached a considerable size, but it is said that they are not more than half grown. The blossoms are a pinkish-white. Some misunderstanding may arise from the name "cherry," however, for the trees do not bear fruit.

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THE atmosphere of spring pervaded the White House on the occasion of one of the President's recent press conferences, the Friday morning conference, during which he made the rather important statement which is explained on page 4 of this issue.



JOSEPHINE ROCHE

The side door which leads from his private office to the back yard of the Executive Mansion stood open. Outside, the buds were swelling. Within, there seemed to prevail a calm, unhurried spirit, in keeping with the season. Most of the correspondents were absent that morning. A few of the outstanding political writers were there, to be sure, mingling with others less widely known. Mark Sullivan, arch opponent of the New Deal, was on hand, and so was Raymond Clapper, of the Scripps Howard chain; Fred Essary, head of the Baltimore Sun Bureau; Sir Wilmott Lewis, representative of the London Times; Erwin Canham, of the Christian Science Monitor; and Heywood Brown, famous columnist, visitor in Washington for the day. But a far smaller number than is usually the case gathered about the President's desk. Mr. Roosevelt spoke in a casual way about a number of things and answered several questions. Then, as the conference seemed at the point of closing, someone asked what had been discussed the day before when a certain group had talked with the President. President Roosevelt said, half jocularly, that he had delivered an economic dissertation. He continued that he

supposed he might as well repeat what he had said the day before to this group. Then he proceeded with a very significant discussion of business trends in the United States, and announced the important shift in governmental policy which is described on page 4. The President frequently gives out important news as informally and as seemingly without premeditation as he did this.

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LORD TWEEDSMUIR, governor-general of Canada, was received in Washington on the occasion of his recent visit,



LORD TWEEDSMUIR

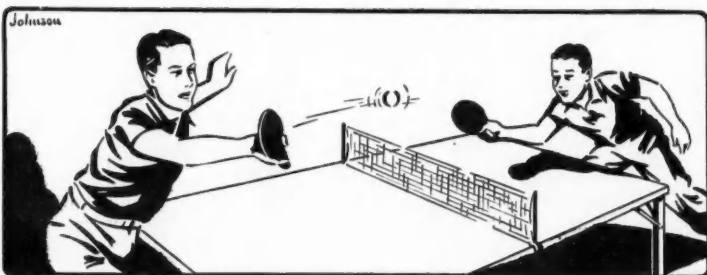
with the ceremony and formality appropriate to the entertainment of the head of a foreign state. But many people, no doubt, looked upon the slender, dignified, scholarly visitor, not as a governor-general or as a foreign dignitary, but simply as John Buchan, author of adventure stories

which have furnished entertainment through many an hour.

It was 15 or 20 years ago that, by chance, I came upon "The Three Hostages." I thought it then, and I think it yet, one of the best adventure stories I have ever read. It is a tale of intrigue, involving an international gang. There is kidnapping in it, and danger, and excitement, and finally the inevitable defeat of the gang. After I had read "The Three Hostages," I became a Buchan fan, and have since read "The 39 Steps," which certainly ranks high in adventure fiction; "Green Mantle," which many consider to be Buchan's best; "The Hunting Tower;" and recently the latest of Buchan's adventure stories, "The Man from the Norlands." I am, therefore, far more interested in John Buchan as an author than as Lord Tweedsmuir, governor-general of Canada.

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CONSIDERED it a privilege to sit at lunch one day last week with Josephine Roche, assistant secretary of the treasury, in charge of the Public Health Service, who is also chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Youth Administration. Miss Roche is not distinguished chiefly, however, because of her present position, but because of her achievements in business and in labor management. Called a few years ago to the presidency of a large mining concern of the State of Colorado, one of her first acts was to invite the leaders of the United Mine Workers and to ask them to unionize the mines; then she signed a contract with them for the highest wages paid in the state. A powerful competitor inaugurated a price war against her, and the miners, in unprecedented loyalty, lent their wages for three months and enabled her to win out in the competition and to place her business on a secure footing. Her employees have worked for her in business and in politics. She has proved that a policy of justice and broad sympathy pays. The magazine "Fortune" has called her "easily the most distinguished American woman in business."



PING PONG IS BECOMING A NATIONAL SPORT



CHERRY BLOSSOM TIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

© Harris & Ewing

In conversation, she does not give the appearance, however, of being a businesswoman. She is wholly unaffected, quite unpretentious—just a woman of charm; friendly, with a sense of humor and a keen interest in whatever subject may be up for discussion.

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ANOTHER famous American woman has won recognition from the government; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, is to be appointed minister to Norway. She is a woman of wealth, widow of a famous New York banker, but has shown herself more interested in the welfare of the masses of the people than in the preservation of class privileges. She is an intelligent liberal. Her Sunday evening suppers, to which she invites political, diplomatic, literary, and intellectual leaders, Democratic and Republican, conservative and liberal, have been famous for years. Her home, "The Up-lands," is set on a hill in the outskirts of Washington and overlooks the city and the Potomac Valley.

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ONE of the most interesting, and probably the most enthusiastically received, addresses delivered this year in Washington's Town Hall was given a week ago Sunday night by William Lyon Phelps, for many years professor of literature in Yale University and literary critic. Few men have done more than he to encourage the reading of current literature. He has been bitterly assailed by literary smart alecks, who accuse him of not being sufficiently critical and of praising works because they are "wholesome," rather than high in literary merit. It may be that he is extravagant in his praise sometimes. Certainly he is more interested in finding that which is beautiful and worth while in current productions than he is in brilliant analysis or in an exhibition of his own cleverness. For average readers, however, he has for more than a generation been a friendly and competent guide to good reading.



WILLIAM LYON PHELPS

PING PONG, or table tennis, seems to be coming back as a popular indoor sport. At a recent championship meet, held here in Washington, Senator Rush Holt, of West Virginia, officiated, and many government officials were present.

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Badminton is another game which is becoming very popular here. It is something like tennis, but is played on a smaller court; a court which can be constructed more cheaply. Many public men enjoy the exercise afforded by this game.

—The Walrus.

SMILES

"Is college youth really liberal?" queries a western educator. Well, as to that we don't feel qualified to say anything. All we know is that it generally hopes that dad is going to be, anyway. —Boston HERALD

Daughter—But, Dad, don't you believe that two can live as cheaply as one? Dad—Sure, your mother and I are living as cheaply as you. —Philadelphia INQUIRER

The United States has no monopoly on boondoggling. Take, for instance, the fellow who plans to swim all the way from England to America—in the Queen Mary's swimming pool. —Battle Creek ENQUIRER-NEWS

Professor: Now, at what speed does light travel? Student: Pretty fast, sir. Anyway it gets here far too soon in the morning. —EXCHANGE

A new gas mask of Danish design permits the wearer to smoke. Later types may include a valve arrangement for giving the foe a Bronx cheer. —Bangor COMMERCIAL

Cop: "How did you knock this pedestrian down?" Motorist: "I didn't knock him down. I just pulled up to him, stopped my car, and waited to let him pass. He fainted." —AMERICAN BOY

One employer tells us he's giving a dance for his office staff just for the opportunity of seeing them move fast for a change. —JUDGE

First Student—what do you do with your dull safety razor blades? Second Student—Shave with them mostly. —SELECTED

Employer: John, I wish you wouldn't whistle at your work. Boy: I wasn't working, sir, only whistling. —BOYS' LIFE

A man can't win an argument with a woman, but he can break even by not saying anything. —Washington Post

A traveler said to the conductor of a slow American train: "Does this railroad allow passengers to give advice?" The conductor replied gruffly, that he thought so. "It occurred to me," said the traveler, "that it would be as well to detach the cow-catcher from the front of the engine and bolt it on to the rear, for what is to prevent a cow from strolling into this car and biting one of the passengers?" —TID-BITS

A Hollywood director is in London looking for a girl to play the part of a haughty member of the nobility. He ought to go to our local post office and ask for some stamps. —London HUMORIST

"We're planning to discover how many relatives we have." "How?" "We've bought a cottage at the beach." —CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Should the United States have entered the World War? What did we get out of the war? What would have happened had we remained out?

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

Charles: Have you seen the result of the straw vote taken by the Institute of Public Opinion on the question of whether the United States should have entered the World War? It seems to me that this poll is very remarkable. The question was asked, did the United States make a mistake in going into the World War? And 70 per cent of the people who answered said that it did.

John: What does a straw vote mean anyhow? You can't tell what people are thinking by polls of that kind.



STORM CLOUDS AHEAD
—Talbot in Washington News

Mary: I am not so sure about that, John. The Institute of Public Opinion has been quite accurate in its polls. It asks its questions of thousands of individuals, representing all sections of the country and all classes of people. In the presidential campaign last fall, its estimate came very close to the final results. It may be off a few per cent, but when it finds that 70 per cent of the people think we were wrong in going into the World War, it must be that the facts are something near that. It would surely be safe to say that two-thirds of all people in America think that we made a mistake when, 20 years ago, we entered the war.

Charles: And that is a frightful admission. It isn't so bad to make a mistake on some matters. If, for example, the government makes a mistake in enacting a tariff law, it can change the law. It can change most any kind of unwise law it passes. But it can't bring back to life the thousands of men who were killed in the war. It can't restore to health those who were injured or who acquired diseases as a result of the war. It can't bring back the millions of dollars which were spent. It can't alter the fact that the course of world history was changed through our participation in the war. Now if we made a mistake in going in, it is a terrible mistake and one which should make all American people feel very humble.

John: But I don't think we did make a mistake by going in. I don't care how many people think so. Majorities may be wrong. Frequently they are. Despite any straw votes that may be taken, I insist that the United States acted wisely when it joined the great struggle of the democratic nations against Germany and her allies.

Charles: What did we get out of the war? We said we went in to make the world safe for democracy. Well, is it safe? Isn't democracy more unsafe now than it was before the war? We said we were fighting a war to end war, and we won that

war. One would suppose, then, that all wars were ended, but who believes they are? The whole world is preparing for another war. We said we went to war to establish the principle of the freedom of the seas—the principle that nations at war must recognize the right of American ships to trade with belligerents. And yet we are today writing neutrality laws which give up our doctrine of the freedom of the seas. We said we were fighting to crush German militarism, and yet German militarism is stronger today than it has ever been and as much a threat to the world. I can't see what we got out of the war, except a lot of casualties, and injuries, and ill health, and debts, and a big depression.

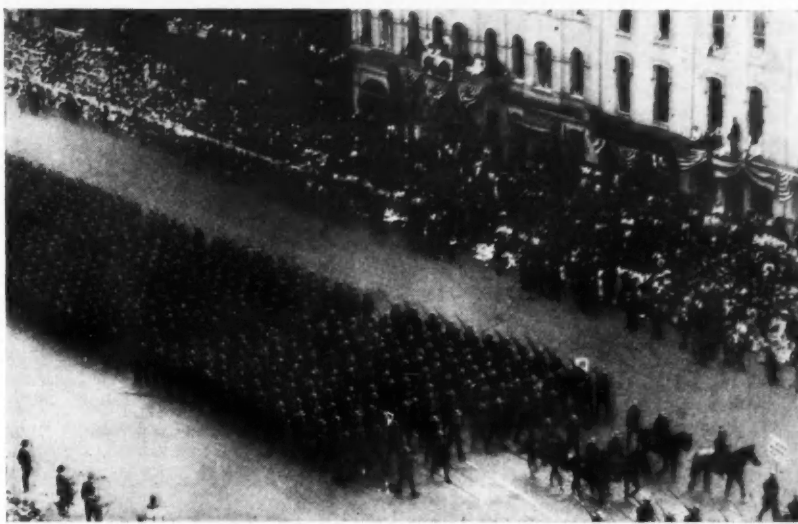
John: You speak very persuasively, Charles, and I'll agree that many of the hopes which people had when they took the country into the war have not been fulfilled. But you leave out of consideration what would have happened if we had not gone in. By entering the war, we kept Germany from winning. It is very likely, at any rate, that she would have won if we hadn't gone in. And if she had, a very much worse condition would have resulted than that which actually did follow the war. Germany would have dominated Europe. She would have been the greatest military power in history. She would have crushed out democracy every place. England and France would have been her vassals. She would have been so strong as to challenge the United States. She and Japan would probably have joined together and would have adopted such an aggressive policy that sooner or later the United States would have had to go to war with them. We would have been obliged to fight later under less favorable conditions.

Mary: But you boys don't know and none of us know what would have happened if America had not taken part in the war. If we could get a true picture of what would have happened if we hadn't gone into the war and then compared it with the actual picture of what really has happened, we would know better than we now do whether we should go in again if a similar situation should arise. But we do know this: That a majority of the people wanted to go into the war in 1917 and that a majority now think that it was a mistake to have gone in. Either the people were wrong in 1917, or they are wrong today. They can go wrong on the most vital matters, and still think they are right.

If people were really intelligent and just and fair, they would be tolerant toward those who do not agree with them. The minority of today may be the majority tomorrow. We can never be sure that a majority is right merely because it is a majority. In a democracy we believe that a majority should rule, but it should always be questioning itself honestly, and candidly, and tolerantly, to see whether or not it is on the right road.



BON VOYAGE
—Homan in Stockton (Calif.) Independent



TWENTY YEARS AGO
As the United States entered the World War. Was our participation in that conflict a mistake?

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The United States in the World War

THE first week of April was the 20th anniversary of America's entrance into the war, and on that occasion there was a great deal of discussion about the causes of the war and the wisdom of our participation. It was particularly appropriate that the conditions which led to our becoming a fighting nation should be examined because similar conditions may arise again. Unquestionably, war in Europe is a distinct possibility, and we may be obliged to make decisions similar to those made in 1917.

There is wide disagreement as to the causes which were most influential in governing our decision. For example, there is the large school of thought which holds that it was American trade with warring powers which was the cause of all the trouble. The arguments advanced by this group have been hashed and rehashed. It is pointed out that when the war broke out in 1914, the United States was in the throes of a mild depression. War orders came along and with them the bounding tide of prosperity. The war became a matter of paramount interest to American business; the United States came to have an economic stake in the war. And it so happened that it was a one-sided stake, for the British, anxious to tighten the noose around Germany's neck, did not hesitate to prevent ships carrying American goods from reaching German ports. It became impossible to trade with Germany, but owing to the simple geographical fact that Britain and her Allies lay between Germany and the United States, it was quite possible to carry on a thriving trade with them. Thus, it became to our interest not only to trade, but to promote the success of the Allied nations which did the bulk of the purchasing.

Loans

Closely allied to this question of war trade was the matter of loans. Our customers, needing billions of dollars worth of goods, were naturally unable to pay for it all spot cash in gold. They had to have credit, or they would have had to shut down on their orders. If this had happened, a sad blow would have been dealt to American business, geared to new highs in production. However, the government was prevailed upon to withdraw its opposition to credits (originally announced as part of our policy as a neutral), and American money, put up by American investors, rushed eagerly to finance Allied purchases. This, of course, increased our economic stake in the war. The defeat of the Allies would have meant not only the loss of trade but the loss of money. Our participation in the conflict became inevitable.

How far does this thesis hold good? It undoubtedly has right, but it does not give the entire story. It is challenged by those

who claim that it was not trade and loans but the violation of our neutral rights by Germany which drew us into the war. The sinking of ships carrying American lives and American goods, by Germany submarines, is a bit of well-remembered history. The Germans reached the conclusion that un-

restricted submarine warfare was the only course left open to them to keep American supplies from feeding the British and the French while they starved, cut off from the United States by a barrier of floating, camouflaged steel. Accordingly they decided to sink everything in sight, and these tactics so outraged America's "sense of honor," and America's "neutral right," that President Wilson finally resolved to take the United States into the war against Germany.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

American Sympathies

There are those who maintain that the real cause of war was something more intangible than those stated above. In reality, they say, it was the decline and final disappearance of mental neutrality. From the very beginning, the American people were, of course, much interested in the war as a great, dramatic event. The nation was at first fairly impartial, but this impartiality could not long stand the strain of witnessing so tremendous a conflict. The attack upon "little Belgium" could not fail to turn sympathy against Germany, and gradually, unconsciously, we began to hate and wish for the defeat of Germany. By 1917 we were mentally ready and anxious to go to war.

There is still another group which points out that this war-mindedness was something deliberately brought about. From the outset, the news from Europe was colored to favor the Allies; many reports for the American public were carefully prepared by the British foreign office. The British cut the cable connecting Germany and the United States. All the Allies did everything possible to poison the minds of Americans against Germany. They were abetted by Americans who formed "National Defense Societies," and "American Rights Committees," and who berated President Wilson for his supineness in not having war declared.

Who is to say which of these causes had the most to do with our becoming involved in war in 1917? It is probably more true to say that it was not any single cause but a combination of these and still other causes which engendered our determination to fight.

A World Conference on Textiles

(Concluded from page 1)

own people are bought from the home mills. But there are certain undeveloped parts of the world where not very much is manufactured, and the manufacturing nations such as the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan compete sharply for customers in these undeveloped regions. With the possible exception of the United States, no nation can support a self-contained industry, for none has raw materials, factories, and consumers in equal proportions. Even the United States must import 90 per cent of all the raw silk which it uses in manufacturing its silk goods, 30 per cent of its raw wool, and small quantities of cotton of qualities not produced in this country.

Since other countries are even more dependent on trade in all these respects, it is clear that no one country can solve its textile problems alone. It is easy to see, therefore, why people throughout the world who are interested in the textile industry should feel the necessity of getting together to talk about their common problems. The call for the conference was made by the International Labor Organization, a body which is associated with the League of Nations. The call was made at the suggestion of the United States government. Before we get into the question, however, of what this conference hopes to accomplish, it may be well for us to study the problems and needs of the textile industry in the United States. From that study we can understand better what the international problem is and what an international conference might do about it.

Textiles in America

We have seen that workers, to the number of more than a million and a quarter, are employed in the textile industry of the United States, and many serious labor problems have arisen. In all branches of the industry, labor costs are a large percentage of the whole cost; all employ a great many unskilled persons who must be attentive and quick, but need not be strong. This accounts for the high percentage of women and young people employed—in the United States, 44 per cent are women. In the industry as a whole, wages have consequently been low and hours have been long, even in good times. In 1933, when the average wage for all industries in the United States was \$18.67, cotton textile wages averaged only \$13.11. In September 1936, general wages had risen to an average \$22.20, but cotton textile workers were still making only about \$13.51.

This need for large quantities of unskilled labor in turn explains one of the most dramatic migrations of industry ever known. In the United States, textile manufacture first developed in New England, where farming on the small rocky plots became unprofitable as the products of midwestern farms began to reach eastern markets. Since, in addition, falling water provided the chief source of mechanical power in the early days, New England, with its many rushing streams, was ideally suited to textile manufacture. For a time, a shortage of labor developed, but after 1850 mass immigration from Ireland and other parts of Europe relieved this difficulty. However, other industries were also growing up, and textile workers demanded higher wages to give them a standard of living equal to that of workers in other industries. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, there occurred in 1912 one of the bitterest strikes the country had ever seen; textile workers of all nationalities, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Serbs, and Portuguese were joined by labor organizers and social workers from the entire country in a demand for better wages. The strikers won their case, but the industry was already leaving New England.

Regional Competition

By the time immigration was stopped in 1921, cutting off the supply of cheap labor, there were already almost as many spindles, almost as many workers employed, and almost as great an output of cotton textiles

in the South as in New England. Since New England workers were demanding and obtaining higher wages, the industry was finding another untapped source of cheap labor; at that time, wages paid to New England workers were 60 per cent higher than those paid in the South. By 1927, the South had overtaken New England in output of cotton textiles, and by 1933 only 91,000 workers were employed in New England cotton textile mills as compared with 257,000 in the southern states. Only 30 per cent of all installed spindles were located

different sections. But an approximation to equal wages everywhere might conceivably be reached. That was attempted by the NRA codes. Through the NRA, the government, working in cooperation with textile manufacturers themselves, undertook to establish wage rates for the different sections and also to provide a general 40-hour week. If these regulations had worked as expected, conditions would have been established under which one section of the country could not have competed so disastrously with another; a section could not have drawn busi-

ness away from another section by providing lower standards of living for workers. But the NRA provisions did not accomplish much, first, because they were evaded and not well enforced, and finally, because the NRA was declared unconstitutional and went out of effect. Since the end of the NRA the American industry has continued to operate in many places on a 40-hour week, but wages often fail to provide workers with a decent standard of living.

than the more highly paid English workers can produce it. And so we have seen in recent years a migration of the textile industry away from Great Britain to Japan and other centers where mills are being developed to put out cheap grades of cotton goods; centers such as the Philippines, India, Mexico, and Brazil. Shifts of this kind have practically ruined a number of great manufacturing centers in England and have impoverished thousands of families. The shift has affected not only Great Britain, but all the countries of western Europe, where textile manufacture forms an important industry, and also in the United States.

This, of course, is not the whole story of world difficulties in the textile industry.

In some places the chief trouble is that textile mills cannot import from abroad the raw materials that they need. This is true particularly of Germany and Italy. There are also cases in which tariffs prevent the importation of textile products. This enables the textile industry to grow at the expense of industries in other parts of the world, even though the costs of operation may be higher than elsewhere.

Aims of Conference

We have been speaking of conditions found in the textile industry of different countries, conditions which render competition very keen and which cause great industrial dislocations. One of the results of this competition is that mills everywhere are producing all that they can as cheaply as possible, and many of them are being driven out of existence. Furthermore, they are producing more than consumers throughout the world can buy. Hence, there are surpluses in many places. This brings prices down further and renders it almost impossible for laborers to receive decent wages. Naturally, no one country can deal satisfactorily with the situation. Even if we in America had national laws which prevented cutthroat competition between the mills of New England and the South, our textile problems would not be solved, for there would still be the problem of wage and price competition from other parts of the world. In order to handle problems of that kind, the textile conference has assembled in Washington with delegates from many different nations.

But what is this conference to do? The ideal thing for it to do, of course, would be for it to devise some way whereby the purchasing power of people all over the world could be increased. Then they could buy all the textile goods that are being produced. But the conference does not know how to work out a solution of that kind. No one does. The next best thing is to get the textile manufacturers in all the countries to cut their production so that they will produce only what their customers can buy. Another thing which may be done is to get the textile manufacturers everywhere to agree on the number of hours their workers will be employed. If, for example, the textile industry in Japan, and all the other low labor-standard countries, should agree to operate on a 40-hour week, it would tend to stabilize the textile industry everywhere. This would be a step in the direction of solving the complex problems of the textile industry.

Results may be slow in materializing. It is hoped, however, that the representatives of the workers and employers and governments now assembled in Washington may agree upon a number of reforms for the textile industry. If they can do that, their suggestions will be referred to a general conference of the International Labor Organization which will assemble in June. This conference might then make definite recommendations for the governments of the different nations which are involved. It might recommend, for example, that each country establish a 40-hour week for its textile industry, thus creating a kind of restriction upon output. Then if such provisions are enacted into law in the various nations, the problems of the great textile industry will be nearer solution.



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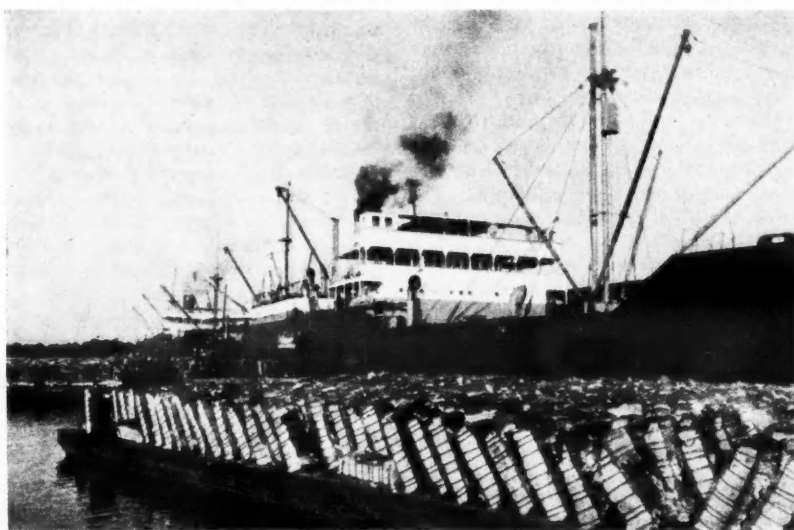
AS THE WORLD TEXTILE CONFERENCE OPENED

Delegates from many countries gathered in Washington to attend the meeting. Left to right: Secretary of Labor Perkins; J. Nease, chairman of the governing body of the International Labor Office; John G. Winant, chairman of the conference; Secretary of Commerce Roper.

ness away from another section by providing lower standards of living for workers. But the NRA provisions did not accomplish much, first, because they were evaded and not well enforced, and finally, because the NRA was declared unconstitutional and went out of effect. Since the end of the NRA the American industry has continued to operate in many places on a 40-hour week, but wages often fail to provide workers with a decent standard of living.

The International Scene

We have now considered the state of the textile industries in America. The same conditions which prevail here are to be



—Courtesy The Cotton Digest, Houston

COTTON GOES TO MARKET

Cotton figures heavily in the world's international trade, and hence the problems presented by it are world wide in scope.

regions where labor standards are low to the detriment of regions where higher wages are paid. Naturally, this has brought dismay to the people of sections like New England, which have seen industries slipping away. What is to be done about it? One remedy, of course, would be for the government to step in and see to it that wages all over the country in the textile industry are about the same. Some allowance might be made for differences in cost of living in the

found on a broader scale if we glance at the international scene. Just as there are sections in the United States which draw industry away from other sections because of their low wage rates, so there are whole nations which have low wage rates and which tend to develop their textile industries at the expense of nations with higher rates. Wages are very low, for example, in Japan, and hours are long. This has enabled the Japanese to produce cloth more cheaply